The women in the photo to the right . . . are cultural workers from Inner Mongolia. They are pictured dancing in the streets of Peking on the first anniversary of the liberation of China by the People's Army. In New China feudal customs have been abolished and along with them child marriages. These women will be free to marry men of their own choice; they now have the privilege of divorce and remarriage—hitherto barred to them. On pages 6 and 7 are other photos which tell better than a million words the progress of China.

- Also on pages 6 and 7, there is a report by 11 American trade unionists, blacked out in our free press, of what they saw first-hand in the Soviet Union.
- On page 3 Tabitha Petran tells what the Marshall Plan has done to our allies in Western Europe, and what Europe could be like with a return to de-Marshallized sanity.
- On page 4 appears the fifth article on the Rosenberg Case, which tears holes in the Government's contentions.
- No—the 12 pages in this issue are not a sign that our financial cup runneth over; it was just that our supply of news and pictures that simply had to be told and shown ran over. So we tightened the belt another notch to let you catch the overflow.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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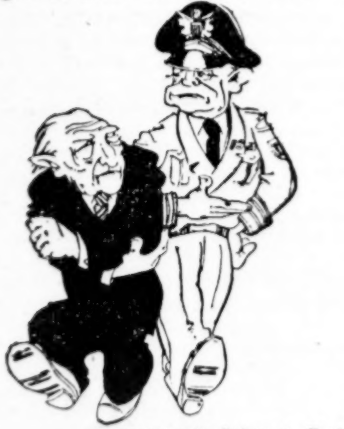
Vol. 3, No. 48 NEW YORK, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 19, 1951

WAR & PEACE

Axis is revived; Germany armed, Italy next

RESTORATION of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Anti-Comintern Axis was nearly complete last week. With the Japanese "peace treaty" under his belt, and enjoying the plaudits of the China Lobby, Secy. Acheson joined his British and French counterparts in formalizing the long-taken decision to put Hitler's generals and soldiers back into uniform under the banner of Western freedom. They also agreed to break the four-year-old Italian peace treaty so they could arm Italy to the hilt.

The separate German peace treaty will give the Bonn government "sovereignty"—so long as it faithfully carries out orders from Washington. It will provide for continued occupation by allied troops not only for "defense" but also against internal unrest; retain an allied veto over West Germany's foreign policy and trade practices; prohibit any change in the status of Berlin; bar a separate peace. Negotiations with Bonn begin next week.



Deutschlands Stimme, Berlin

Eisenhower: "Well, I recruited a General Staff out of jail for you, but where are the young men for the German Army?"
Adenauer: "They're all marching in peace demonstrations."

RED FACES IN PARIS: On the decision to rearm Germany, the Big 3 got their signals mixed. The N.Y. **Times** (Sept. 14) reported France had made two important concessions: the U.S. will begin training West German troops at once, before the European Army is organized into which they are supposed eventually to be integrated; Bonn will fix the time for calling up troops. But in Paris Premier Pleven, author of the European Army scheme, indignantly denied France had made these concessions, said he had told Foreign Minister Schuman to correct the reports at a press conference in Washington. As the GUARDIAN went to press, Schuman had made no denial.

Admittedly viewing Pleven's "European Army" as a device to quell popular opposition to German rearmament, Washington is reported privately to consider it unworkable. France undoubtedly did make the concessions permitting German rearmament to go ahead now, but publication of the decision was embarrassing at home where the government stands in a crossfire between a powerful Left and Gen. de Gaulle, who is campaigning against putting the French army under foreign leadership. To top its difficulties, the French government received an 11-page warning from Moscow that it is violating the 1944 Soviet-French Pact in countenancing German rearmament. The note called the Schuman and Pleven plans

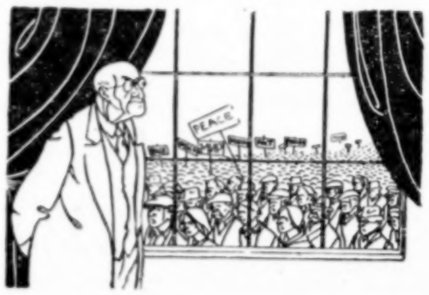
> . . . incompatible with the interests of European peace and condemned by the German people themselves who do not wish to become instruments for their own execution.

DACHAU NOSTALGIA: As the talks began, the N.Y. **Times'** Drew Middleton (Sept. 11) found in West Germany an approach "remarkable for its confident optimism and second for the manner in which German and U.S. objectives in Germany are linked together often in opposition to the aims of Britain and France." Many believe "the Federal Republic can get anything it wants from the allies" (N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 15).

Coincident with the talks, an Assn. of German Soldiers led by 78 of Hitler's generals, admirals and staff officers was organized. According to the **Times**, some U.S. officials think it will "develop more authority than the Bundestag." The leader of one of its component groups, the Freikorps, remarked:

> "The usefulness of the concentration camps of the Third Reich cannot be denied."

Chancellor Adenauer—who has demanded as the price for acquiescence in U.S. rearmament plans an independent German General Staff, a Luftwaffe of some 1-2,000 planes and an army of 250,000—hailed the Washington decisions as giving his country "real freedom." The Socialist Party "was not so overcome by joy" (N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 15). **AP** (Sept. 15) reported that Vice Chancellor Franz Bluechter, head of the Free Democratic Party (second in the government coalition), "was not as enthusiastic as Dr. Adenauer." German reaction ranged from "hopeful acceptance to bitter denunciation."



Dikobraz, Prague

"They can afford to demonstrate for peace—none of those people have anything invested in war."

EAST URGES UNITY: On the heels of the talks East German Premier Grotewohl, in an urgent appeal endorsed by the East Zone Parliament, called for "free all-German elections" to a constitutional convention to establish a united Germany. He abandoned previous demands that the East Zone should have equal representation in such an all-German body with the more populous West. "In the present desperate situation" created by the Washington decisions, he said, "war may become inevitable." Adenauer in effect rejected the unity plea, calling for speedy rearmament and demanding return of the Polish territory in the Oder-Neisse area, implying he had been promised Western help.

CBS' Howard K. Smith, reporting from London Sept. 16, said rejection of the Grotewohl appeal would go far to convince many Europeans that the U.S. does not want a peaceful settlement.

VATICAN VOLCANO: Europe's growing fear that the U.S. is bent on a military showdown was reflected last week in a new Encyclical in which—although the U.S. press sought to distort its meaning—the Pope came out clearly for a peaceful settlement. He warned that salvation from the enemy cannot be found "with the strength of arms nor with human power." He quoted from the Bible:

> Thou comest to me with a sword and with a spear and with a shield: But I come to thee in the name of the Lord of Hosts . . . and all this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with the sword and spear.

An article signed "Pierre Desvignes" in the Paris **Action** (Sept. 13), speculating on the trip to the U.S. and Canada of Msgr. Montini who "directs Vatican diplomacy," drew attention to the Pope's seriously concern about the possibility that the U.S. will take "extreme measures." The Vatican—located on a potential volcano in the event of War III—is convinced that Washington is

> . . . now ready to attempt a policy of definitive force, a "showdown" (as American reports to the Vatican put it). And this as soon as its allies have yielded to all their desires. Will Msgr. Montini's presence in America give courage to the European ministers to make the U.S. only such concessions as do not risk inevitable provocation of a world war?

The author of the article was described as "one of the best informed observers of international politics," whose "functions compel him to an anonymity we deplore as much as himself."

"ATLANTICIZING" GREECE: Washington's allies, as it speeded war preparations all over the world, seemed already prostrate before its steamroller. At the Atlantic Pact Council meeting in Ottawa, its orientation away from such "politically unreliable" countries as France and Britain to West Germany, Spain, Turkey, Greece, became clearer. From Secy. Acheson and Gen. Eisenhower the Council members heard blunt demands to speed rearmament and "knuckle down" to more sacrifices. Eisenhower advanced the date of "D-Day." Chief U.S. demand was inclusion of Greece and Turkey and more power for Eisenhower.

The Council, wrote James Reston (N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 16) was faced "with the sensitive problem of balancing the overwhelming power of the U.S. inside the coalition." Although criticism of U.S. leadership was "growing," it "would not be accurate to say" that the U.S. "will not get from its allies here just about what it wants." But

> . . . their enthusiasm for bringing Greece and Turkey into the picture, for increasing their defense budgets, and for increasing Gen. Eisenhower's authority within the

(Continued on Page 5)

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Vol. 3, No. 48 178 SEPTEMBER 19, 1951

REPORT TO READERS

The Case of the Shrieking Senator

Sen. Douglas, who had been spreading his hands in gestures of exasperated frustration . . . uttered a piercing shriek, put his hand against his head and rushed from the chamber. . . He returned within half an hour . . . looking fit to those in the galleries.
N.Y. Times **Congressional report, Sept. 11**

THE shriek of Senator Douglas, uttered last week during the confabulations of the highest body of the world's most powerful nation, was not, we fear, a shriek heard round the world.

What made Illinois' man of the people forget his dignity and holler like a stuck pig? The illustrious senators were discussing "military appropriations"—that is, how much of your and our money, the money we used to spend on meat for the kids, should be spent on instruments of mass slaughter and people to use them in 1952. Already 56 billion dollars had been voted by the House—8 billion more than this year, 55 billion more than 1938 when one billion was the total Defense Dept. expenditure. The Senate wanted to toss in still another 5 billions. Sen. Douglas thought one whole billion could be trimmed off this and that it was too bad one couldn't even suggest such a thing without being regarded as some sort of Kremlin agent. Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) promptly but genteelly implied this very charge against Douglas, who thereupon shrieked and fled in tears.

●

THERE may be times when, after a long period of "exasperated frustration," a good piercing shriek helps to get it off a person's chest. We do not think this is one of those times, nor can we anticipate such a result in Sen. Douglas' case. Frankly we don't know just what to recommend to the Senator except a long rest. We can but offer him the same measure of sympathy that we extend to all persons wheresoever who solemnly propose to cure a raving lunatic by removing one straw from his hair.

But to citizens more genuinely exasperated by the spiraling suicidal insanity of those who spend our tax money, we can offer a twofold alternative to shrieking:

1. Retire in short order all fakers like Douglas who confuse the people by "liberal" shenanigans but are too stupid, or too dishonest, or both, to identify the whole "defense" program as the insanity it is. Join, work for and build a political party that will replace them with intelligent, fearless, genuine progressives in '52.

2. Acquaint yourselves with the facts showing why our present Administration's policy is total insanity and what is the sane alternative; take the time and trouble to spread the facts—the only antidote to shrieking hysteria—as widely as you possibly can.

●

THE GUARDIAN collates and digests week by week, without fear or favor, the facts about where your tax money goes and where it could and should go—not to make you shriek, but to make it possible for you to act. Yes, it's **your** money—so why not build the **GUARDIAN**, spread the truth and bring sanity and pork chops back?

● We have pointed out, and will point out again, that the cost of a medium-sized tank is the same as the cost of a medium-sized school; that for half a billion more than is now being spent on military barracks and installations alone, every river valley in the U.S. could be developed, cheap power provided and floods controlled.

● We have shown and will continue to show (see pp. 6 and 7 this week) that the "Iron Curtain" which isn't there has nothing behind it but a third of the earth's population building peace and plenty for itself, threatening nobody, continually year after year proposing international agreements for international disarmament.

● We shall continue weekly to expose as a fraud the contention that without spending three-quarters of our wealth on rearmament our economy would collapse. (We have shown that on the contrary such fantastic waste of our manpower and industrial machinery ensures collapse). The alternative, and the only one, is trade with the vast, rapidly expanding new nations to the East—for which those nations are pressing, and of which only our own elected knaves and hysterics stand in the way.

●

A SMALL voice, you say? The small voice of truth is more potent than the shriek of the hypocrite. Why not sit down this very evening and consider how you can help make the small voice bigger?

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Belay below!

LEXINGTON, KY.

Now that we have war alliances with Franco, fascistic Turkey and Imperial Japan, we should go down to Hades and sign up Lucifer—offering him an adequate loan. God of course is already on our side. The devil no doubt would prefer a few atom bombs to our gold or dollars. We could even lend him McCarthy, McCarran and Budenz as advisers, and maybe even Pegler.

Giles Cooper

Siamese Twins

NORWALK, OHIO

Herewith is my second instalment of my pledge of a month ago. It seems to me that since your need for extra help of this kind is always with you, regular monthly payments of pledges made and kept answer your purpose better than flashy bursts of $5 or $10, then silnece for another year or two. But of course I know you're not fussy.

It seems to me, too, that until the people have been convinced of the Siamese Twin-like connection War has with Capitalism and take steps to outlaw it . . . as murder and bank-robbery, far lesser crimes, have been . . . wars will continue to be "inevitable."

Ray S. Kellogg

The Rosenberg Case

CHICAGO, ILL.

The current series on the Rosenbergs is quite revealing of how far witchhunt hysteria can go. I am showing all my friends the articles. What can be done to help their fight for freedom?

M. I. Sabin

The Bachmann articles

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In your Sept. 5 issue, Helen Talbot says she doesn't believe American soldiers would commit atrocities in Korea as described by Ida Bachmann. But, painful as it is, we must face the fact that soldiers of any nation, ordered to carry on an "Operation Killer" against the men, women and children of another country, can become so brutalized that they are capable of anything. **An unjust war can only be fought by barbarous means.** The Commission's report is not a matter of hearsay. The Commission itself witnessed low-flying planes strafing peasants at work in their fields. They saw the mass graves and the corpses tied together with ropes. Is there so much difference between bayonetting a baby and roasting whole villages alive with jelly bombs, which our planes do almost daily?

Time magazine in January, 1951, described the thoughts of a jet pilot who admitted killing old women. He explained: "I figured if we had to kill ten civilians to kill one soldier who might later shoot us, we were justified."

We cannot shut our eyes to these terrible facts—if we do, it puts us in the same class with the Germans who claimed that they never knew what was going on in the Nazi death camps.

Betty Taylor

●

TORRINGTON, CONN.

I'm ashamed to have to admit it, but I do believe it. We are, sad to say, neither superior nor different from anyone else on the face of this globe, and can be made to succumb to fascism and the cult of force and violence.

Perhaps if the writer of the can't-believe-it letter had witnessed Peekskill, took into account the Cicero riots, the hate and prejudices fanned by "free enterprise" papers, the "Kultur" of the movies of sadism, the willful disregard of human dignity, the oppression of the Negro people, she would not feel the episode in Korea so unbelievable. The war itself is an immense atrocity!

We must wage a relentless struggle to change. Change to a policy of peace and freedom for human, progressive mankind; not for the breeders of war and hatreds and those who profit thereby.

William Archer

A darlin' phrase

CHICAGO, ILL.

Have you ever encountered this phrase of Sean O'Casey's ". . . a man who would put a flower in a vase on a table as well as a loaf on a plate?"

O'Casey was talking about a man, Jim Larkin, head of Dublin's transport workers; but he could have been talking about NATIONAL GUARDIAN, too.

Hugh McGilvery

Justice Douglas on Asia

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

Justice Wm. O. Douglas' logical and wise statement in **Look** magazine (Aug. 14, 1951) lays the disruption of friendly relations with all the Asiatic peoples directly at the doorstep of our militarists:

"The open friendship of our high militarists with the big landowners—their condoning of the oppressive measures which the overlords use against the people—stamps into the minds of the people this fact: That our resources, our manpower are solely there for the disposal of their landlords to thwart any efforts of the workers to compel their rulers to acknowledge their just demands."

Mr. Douglas finds that the changes occurring in Asia are the wholesome efforts of the oppressed to emerge with the rest of the world as free men, capable to form their own government of reforms and progress, and that our traditions and ideals should put us on their side.

The Asiatic people resolved to rid themselves of hated rulers. No amount of A-bombs and military divisions will stop that burning desire.

Anna Medic

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Two good reasons

BRONX, N.Y.

We think the GUARDIAN is by far the best newspaper in the country. It is a pleasure to read a paper that opposes the Korean war not only because "our boys are dying there" (which would be enough, anyway) but because the U.S. has taken on the most horrible role in its murder of the Korean people, whom it considers inferior in the same way the Nazis considered the Jews inferior.

Sylvia Price

Organize and Educate!

PROVO, UTAH

I suggest that the program of the Progressive Party National Committee for '52 be given first place from now on; and that a red hot campaign be waged throughout the nation. Organize, organize, organize! Educate, educate, educate! A real campaign, based upon the needs of the people, is what is needed.

E. A. Mitchell

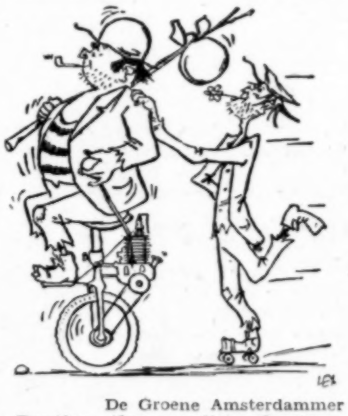
Oatis and the Press

CLEVELAND, OHIO

The Cleveland **Press** is the most reactionary among America's "yellow journalistic" papers. Every blessed day it brands and slanders Czechoslovakia for Oatis who was found guilty not as a newspaper man but as a spy. But they do not want to admit the truth about the case. The undersigned is a retired Cong. minister who spent 40 years as a home missionary among the Slavic and other immigrants.

The Cleveland **Press** is mad at Czechoslovakia, which refused visas last year and this year to its "nationality" agents or writers. I agree with Czechoslovakia. Those people need help and peace, not troublemakers, in their struggle after the two wars.

A. G. Moncol



De Groene Amsterdammer
Beating the gasoline shortage.

You can say it again

SOMEWHERE IN U.S.A.

I am a student at — — — University, from the Middle East. Believe me, I almost gave up hope that there was a good paper here until a friend of mine showed me the GUARDIAN two years ago. Since then I read the GUARDIAN and find it a most honest and uncommercial uaper. I told many of my good friends to subscribe to it. They did, and thanked me a lot, as much as I thanked the first person who told me about it. Everybody thinks there is something wrong in this country, but not everyone knows what that wrong is. I think I know: the people of this country are misled and misinformed.

Name Withheld

Socialist Republic

OROFINO, IDAHO

"Knowledge is better than weapons of war."

We should stop groping in darkness at noonday for a plan for world peace, and accept God's plan for a "united socialist world." This is the only plan that will ever bring the everlasting peace and more abundant life that all the world is seeking and cannot find: a plan that could have saved the world from two world wars, had it been accepted by all the nations many years ago. It shall, very shortly, be accepted: "They shall come up with acceptance on mine altar."

The "Redemption story" can be told in just two words: "International Socialism." Christ died on the cross for preaching it — true Christianity has always been accompanied with persecutions, bloodshedding and suffering. When we Americans wake up, and learn to know what is best for our own good, then America shall be a new "Socialist Republic." It will come thru the power of ballots, not bullets. Wake up, America, and see the folly of what you are doing! "Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation." (Malachi 4:9).

R. W. Cook

Anti-bug juice

CHICAGO, ILL.

Years ago when I was a prisoner of war in Spain, Franco made an inspection of our concentration camp. As he passed by, up jumped a big, juicy bed bug and cried, "Hello, brother." "How dare you call me brother?" exclaimed Franco, "we have nothing in common." "Oh, yes, we do," replied the bed bug. "You bleed the Spanish people by day and I by night."

The bed bugs are celebrating for they have found a long lost and rich brother. He really made good, lives in the White House, no less. Lots of us are still squeamish about armor-plated, atom-armed bed bugs. The ordinary type of disinfectant doesn't work. We have to organize to drive them out of their holes, expose them to light, douse them with loads of truth. I can think of no better exterminator than the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Enclosed is my check for $5—two for a renewal, three for a bigger and stronger anti-bug juice.

Syd Harris

The main problem

ASHLAND, ORE.

I am especially interested in the monetary swindle that the people of our country are subjected to. We only have a few Progressive Party members in this town—but they are real ones. The trouble we workers in industry have in recruiting new people is in finding time and money to get the right literature before them. Don't be afraid of treading on the toes of the theologians. Yours for success in socialist progress.

A. M. Hamilton

TRADE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST --- THE KEY TO A HEALTHY EUROPE

Western Europe's economic crisis—made in the U.S.A.

By Tabitha Petran

JOSEPH ALSOP, in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (Sept. 9), saw on the horizon "a major financial crisis within the Western alliance . . . [which] can quite easily merge into a full scale political crisis, jeopardizing the effort of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and even undermining Western unity."

Alsop put the cart before the horse: Europe's financial crisis stems from a major political crisis.

The basic causes of Western Europe's developing economic crisis are the political policies of rearmament and the U.S.-dictated embargo (vigorously opposed by Europe's soundest economists) on trade with the socialist world. In many articles the GUARDIAN has pictured the impact of rearmament on Western Europe's economy: inflation, rising taxes, declining living standards, unbalanced trade.

The trade embargo has been the chief reason for Western Europe's sick economy and its domination by the U.S.

WHAT THE CURE TAKES: In 1947 the Marshall Plan Council (recipient nations) said Western Europe could attain economic health only by substantial trade with the East. It estimated that Western Europe had to get 17% of its imports from and send 19% of its exports to Eastern Europe. But ECA agreements dictated by the U.S. restricted trade with the East until there is now almost a total embargo. These are the results:

W. Europe trade with E. Europe

	1938	1950
Imports	$3,200,000,000	$ 900,000,000
Exports	2,200,000,000	1,000,000,000

The $900,000,000 figure is one-fourth the amount considered necessary for a healthy European economy .

The embargo, on top of rearmament, is the direct cause of Western Europe's "dollar gap" and increasing financial insolvency. It means higher prices for imports; lower prices for exports; competing with the U.S. in a restricted market for raw materials; inability to barter; greater dependence on high-priced U.S. imports.

West Europe has been forced to replace former imports from East Europe with imports from the U.S. as the following figures show:

Changes in West Europe's
Import Trade, 1938-1948
(1948 prices in dollars)

Imports	From E. Europe		From U. S.
Total	—$1,720,000,000	plus	$1,400,000,000
Cereals	—250,000,000	plus	615,000,000
Dairy products	—114,000,000	plus	89,000,000
Coal	—46,000,000	plus	169,000,000
Chemicals	—26,000,000	plus	126,000,000

Western and Eastern Europe are complementary trade areas. Before the war, the West got from the U.S.S.R. and the East 80-100% of its coal, coke, timber, wood pulp, flax, bauxite , hops, beans, eggs; 50-60% of its zinc and potatoes; 20-30% of its bread grains, coarse grains, pig iron, lead ore, hemp, phosphates; 10-15% of its crude steel, copper, meat, tobacco, sugar; 5% of its oil, hides, manganese, vegetable oils. Now it must pay dollars for many of these or buy them in world markets which have been bid up by the U.S.

BITING OFF THE NOSE: Coal is a good example. Britain and Germany formerly were coal exporters. Today they don't produce enough coal for their own industry and must import. Before the embargo they could import coal from Poland, which last year sold Western Europe 10,000,000 tons. The cut in Eastern coal cuts French steel production required for rearmament; threatens for Britain a power shortage and a heatless winter and cold homes in Germany. These countries are forced to buy American coal—at higher prices.

This increases their dollar scarcity, pushes up the price of steel and, since steel is basic to the economy, of all goods.

Western European governments are becoming restless as U.S. handouts shrink and the U.S. Congress demands the end of all trade with socialist nations. The N.Y. **Times'** Michael Hoffman reported from Geneva Aug. 26:

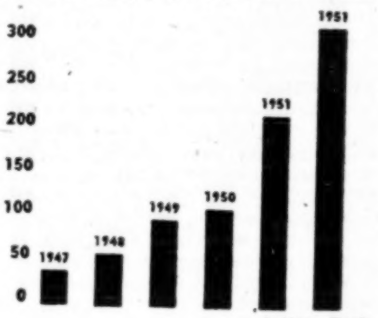
> Europeans are getting fed up with the U.S. Congress' effort to tell them what they should and should not trade with Eastern Europe. . . . European governments have to decide whether to face taunts and outraged patriotic sentiments and give in to the U.S. or break openly with Washington even at the cost of getting on without American aid. It is by no means certain they will choose the former course, especially if there is not much American aid.

BRITAIN vs. GERMANY: Britain, hardest hit of all, has announced it intends to continue trade in non-military items. Last week it concluded a trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. for 1,000,000 tons of grain. But on U.S. orders it recently broke contracts for machine tools and oil tankers (completed and ready to be delivered) for Poland and for oil and rubber to China.

Tremendous inroads have been made in Britain's export market in the last year by Western Germany. The German drive is dictated in part by its inability to develop former markets in the East. The latest Economic Bulletin of the UN Economic Commission for Europe reported a disastrous decline in Britain's competitive position in metals, metal products and chemicals, and West German progress so great that it has surpassed pre-war exports in many items.

With the aid of American dollars, a German economic Frankenstein monster has arisen. West Germany's exports in metals, machinery, chemicals and manufactured goods to the rest of Europe are challenging and exceeding British exports and are rapidly equalling British exports to the rest of the world.

West Germany's production is back at pre-war levels (its war industries increased output 220% in 1950 over 1949) and its per capita food consumption is higher than Britain's. U.S. dollar aid has covered 60% of the German dollar gap, 19% of Britain's.



Action, Paris

Growth of West German exports.
(The two 1951 columns are monthly averages for Jan. and July)

THE RISING SUN: Britain also is threatened by rising Japanese competition and by the U.S. drive to break into sterling markets. Japan's exports rose from a monthly average of $43 000,000 in 1949 to $96,000,000 in March, 1951; of the latter figure, $25,000,000 went to the dollar area; $37,000,000 to the sterling area; $10,000,000 to Hong Kong.

Britain's 1951 trade deficit is three times 1950's. It reached $2,262,000,000 by Sept. 1, may set a record of $3,360,000,000 by 1952. Last year Britain covered a good portion of its trade gap by the rising prices of sterling area tin, rubber, wool, copper sold to the U.S. stockpile. But the U.S. has since reduced or manipulated its purchases from the sterling area to bring prices down, while maintaining the high prices of its own products.

In Washington last week the President demanded at the opening session of the Intl. Monetary Fund the removal of all restrictions on foreign exchange —meaning the exchange control mechanism by which Britain has restricted sterling area markets to British goods. The principle behind the British controls is that dollars should not be paid for goods that can be had within the sterling area itself. This is an obstacle to U.S. exports.

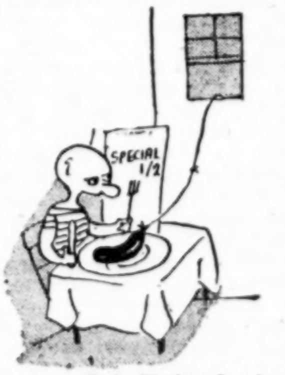
SHATTERED DREAM: The U.S. is perverting the whole dream of a world of free trade that would raise employment and living standards. In 1944 this was the plan of two of the world's ablest economists—Britain's Lord Keynes and the U.S. Treasury's Harry White. This was to be the basis for Bretton Woods in 1944, for the World Bank, for the Intl. Monetary Fund, the World Trade Charter. It was to provide the economic underpinning for a real United Nations.

Keynes and White must be writhing in their graves at the spectacle of a world divided along political lines, imposing more artificial trade restrictions than ever were made under the antiquated gold standard or import quotas of pre-war days. Especially ironic is this: the instruments they fashioned to free the world are being used to shackle it. The Bank and the Fund are impoverishing Britain and Western Europe rather than showing the way to full employment and prosperity.

The record: How a U. S. dependency is born

THE MARSHALL PLAN (Economic Cooperation Administration), scheduled to end in June, 1952, has in more than three years poured $12,300,000,000 into Western Europe. This year, the President asked $1,675,000,000 to wind it up; the Senate gave him $880,500,000.

When the Marshall Plan was born, the Progressive Party and the GUARDIAN analyzed it as a program not designed to raise living standards in Europe but to enrich and extend the power of a handful of U.S. corporations; to provide a dumping ground for U.S. export surpluses; to underwrite the remilitarizing of Europe. We predicted it would weaken Western Europe's economy and make it a U.S. dependency, line the pockets of a few European businessmen, impoverish its people. This is the record to date:



Daily Worker, London

"Nah then, Uncle Sam, live and let live!"

ARMS: From 1948-50, Marshall aid amounted to less than half of the vast sums the U.S. compelled Western Europe to spend on arms. France, Britain and Italy got $5,700,000,000 in Marshall aid, appropriated $14,000,000,000 for arms. In 1947 armaments took 24% of the French budget, 30% in 1951; in Belgium, 4.1% in 1947, 17.1% in 1951; in Britain 24 and 31%; in the Netherlands 19.2 and 28.2%. Appointment of former ECA Administrator William C. Foster as Under Secy. of Defense last week shows how closely Western Europe is being integrated into the U.S. war machine.

PROFITS: In Britain corporate profits went from 2,417,000,000 pounds in 1947 to 2,734,000,000 in 1950; in France, from 124,000,000,000 francs in 1947 to 800,000,000,000 in 1950. In Belgium from 244,000,000,000 francs in 1948 to 266,000,000,000 in 1950.

WAGES: Real wages were forced down to 50% of pre-war, most of the drop since 1947. The French worker's real wage in 1947 was 79% of that of 1938; by 1951 only 49.5%. Workers' wages amounted to 45% of the French national income in 1938, 29.5% in 1951; employers' income rose from 37 to 54%. In Britain, where output per worker has risen 33% since 1947, real wages have fallen: the retail price index has gone up 26%, wages only 20%.

United States labor leaders who shouted "communist" at all criticism of the Marshall Plan are now hearing the same criticism in their own ranks. Railroad union leaders in the newspaper **Labor** gave their impressions of Marshallized Europe.

> Workers toiling for a few cents an hour, 10 hours a day, seven days a week . . . many dwelling in miserable slums . . . some even living in caves and dugouts . . . too much of the aid has gone to the wealthy and too little to the little rank and file fellows at the bottom.

Frank Rosenblum, secy.-treas. of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, told the N.Y. State CIO convention:

> "ECA representatives themselves have been compelled to admit that the program has created a new class of millionaires, profiteers, black marketeers in lands which we have sought to help, and where we have only succeeded in perpetuating and increasing the gross inequalities which previously existed."

An ECA report (Aug. 30) said Congress must restore cuts in economic aid—otherwise "a great wave of unrest is to be expected in the immediate future" because increased war production will lower still further "already dangerously low living standards."

UNEMPLOYMENT: In France unemployment rose from 77,000 in 1947 to 220,000 in early 1951; in Belgium from 67,000 to 240,000; in Denmark from 52,000 to 94,000; in Austria from 31,000 to 199,000; in Western Germany from 595,000 to 1,800,000; in Italy from 1,600,000 to 2,000,000.

TAXES: In France taxes went up from 699,521,000,000 francs in 1947 to 1,957,000,000,000 in 1951. Revenue from indirect taxes in Britain increased from 1,421,000,000 pounds in 1947 to 1,758,000,000 in 1951.

INDUSTRY: The rate of industrial development fell: in France from 17% in 1948 to 3% in 1950; in Norway from 11% to 8%; in Belgium from 7% to 3%; in Britain from 11% in 1948 to 8% in 1949 and 10% in 1950.

UN's World Economic Survey for 1950 showed that in 11 Marshall Plan countries output increased 8.5% in 1950 over 1949, compared with a 26.4% increase for Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria.

The current Economic Bulletin, issued by the UN's Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva, reported that in six Eastern European countries (the above plus East Germany) industrial production increased 19% in 1951's first quarter over the same period in 1950. But for **Europe as a whole** (including Eastern Europe but excluding the U.S.S.R.) the increase was only 13-14%. The Bulletin carefully avoids the obvious question: what is the figure for Western Europe? The answer lies in the ECA Aug. 30 report:

"In almost all industralized countries of Western Europe production has fallen as against the corresponding months of the previous years."

THE ROSENBERG CASE---V

Not one shred of evidence presented by U.S. to back up its charges

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special reporter

ON Mar. 21, 1951, eight months after he was arrested on charges of spying for the U.S.S.R., Julius Rosenberg took the witness stand in this country's first atom-bomb spy trial. During the eight months the American public had been bombarded with a ceaseless propaganda barrage designed to convince them of the certain guilt of the 33-year old Rosenberg and his 35-year-old wife, Ethel.

His wife's brother and sister-in-law, David and Ruth Greenglass, had portrayed Julius as a master spy—a man of intrigue, mystery, cunning and ubiquitous wisdom such as moves in the pages of E. Phillips Oppenheim. According to them, Rosenberg was the central figure in a spy ring which began during World War II and continued throughout the cold war, dedicated to obtaining A-bomb and other secret information for transmission to Moscow.

The Greenglasses' portrayal had him being furnished by the Russians with unlimited financial resources to recruit other spies; to establish contacts with scientists in government agencies and key defense plants; to spend $50-75 every night for entertaining; to subsidize the college education of likely espionage prospects; and to furnish his confederates with large sums of money to flee this country and find eventual haven "behind the Iron Curtain."

WHAT! NO PUMPKIN? As a token of their appreciation for his service, "the Russians," according to the Greenglasses, had given Rosenberg a citation which entitled him to special privileges; watches for himself and his wife, and a console table containing a hidden compartment for microfilming secret documents.

Another facet of his personality, if one believes the testimony offered, was his boldness about the use of his name. All the key figures in the spy ring used pseudonymns in their espionage activities. (Gold said he was known as "Dave from Pittsburgh"; Bentley testified that her confederates knew her either as "Mary" or "Helen"; and Anatoli Yakovlev, Soviet consular official who returned home from the U. S. four years before he was indicted and named as a defendant in the case, was described as having been known to his underlings only as "John".) But if the mysterious "Julius" mentioned in testimony of Bentley and Gold (GUARDIAN, Aug. 22) was indeed Julius Rosenberg, then he apparently was the only person in the ring whose identity was not masked by a false name. Neither Gold nor Bentley could testify to knowing Rosenberg, but both testified that "Julius" was a key word in the conspiracy, being used to identify the master-spy in telephone conversations and in a password. (The GUARDIAN has shown that if this name did recur in the plot, it probably served to identify Dr. Klaus Fuchs, confessed arch-conspirator who was known to intimates here as Julius.)

EVERYTHING BUT EVIDENCE: Notwithstanding the intrigue, mystery, excitement, drama and real-life whodunit qualities of the government's portrayal of Rosenberg, there was just one factor missing: not a shred of it could be supported by even a scintilla of evidence. Nor was any evidence offered even to try to support it.

If these headline-seeking allegations about Julius Rosenberg were indeed factual, it would seem that the government surely could have produced some evidence or testimony that:

- He was known to other members of the A-bomb spy ring. (Neither depositions nor testimony were produced from Dr. Fuchs, Alfred Dean Slack or Harry Gold, to show that any of them had ever known or been involved with Rosenberg.)
- He was a big spender in night clubs and restaurants. (No Sherman Billingsleys of any degree were produced to back up the Greenglasses' assertions—not even a waiter captain. Rosenberg himself testified that he was in a night club once in his life, when his union held a party at Cafe Society Downtown. No witnesses were called who had ever seen him in a night club or eating place of any description. Nor were bank accounts or any other evidence produced to prove the Rosenbergs anything other than a typical, hard-pressed middle-income N.Y. family.)
- He had "important contacts" in defense plants and government agencies. (None was ever produced or testified to; nor was he shown to have made visits to any city other than Washington, and these only in connection with his government job.)
- He consorted with Russian nationals. (Not even Bentley could testify to this, nor could any other witness.)
- He had subsidized students' college education. (No such students, no college records, no witnesses were ever produced to establish this.)

ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG
Once upon a time he went to a night club once . . .

THE "RUSSIAN" TABLE: The government's avoidance of any attempt to prove its headline allegations was almost too crude. The console table, which ostensibly contained a secret compartment, was not even produced in court (although an apparently normal table was impounded by the government when the Rosenbergs were arrested); instead, a photograph of a table was introduced in evidence that was "like" the one allegedly supplied "by the Russians." (The Rosenbergs said they bought theirs at a Macy's sale for $21.)

Significantly, none of these headline allegations was included in the indictment on which the Rosenbergs were brought to trial.

In contrast to the lurid—though undocumented and unproven—portrayal of a "master spy," the 12 "overt acts" listed in the indictment against the Rosenbergs seem humdrum.

12 CHARGES & HOW THEY GREW: The 12 "overt acts" charged in the final indictment (see GUARDIAN, Sept. 5, for an account of how successive indictments of the Rosenbergs were embellished periodically during the months between their arrests and the trial) charge that, as part of a conspiracy to transmit A-bomb and other secret information to the U.S.S.R.,

(1) In June, 1944, Julius visited the home of a classmate, Max Elitcher, in Washington, D.C.

(2) In Nov. 15, 1944, Julius and Ethel "conferred with" Ruth Greenglass;

(3) On Nov. 20, 1944, Julius gave Ruth Greenglass a sum of money. (At first the indictment said $550; in court it became $150.)

(4) On Nov. 20, 1944, Ruth Greenglass boarded a train for New Mexico.

(5) On Dec. 10, 1944, Julius visited the Greenglass apartment at 266 Stanton St., N.Y.C.

(6) On Dec. 10, 1944, Julius received from Ruth Greenglass a piece of paper containing written information.

(7) On Jan. 5, 1945, Julius and Ethel "conferred with" the Greenglasses.

(8) On Jan. 5, 1945, Julius gave Ruth Greenglass a torn half of a jello box.

(9) On Jan. 10, 1945, Julius introduced David Greenglass to a man on First Avenue.

(10) On Jan. 12, 1945, Julius "conferred with" David Greenglass.

(11) On Jan. 12, 1945, Julius received from David Greenglass a paper containing sketches of experiments conducted at the Los Alamos project.

(12) On Jan. 14, 1945, David Greenglass boarded a train for New Mexico.

NO JELLO, NO RUSSIAN: Of these 12 "overt acts," Rosenberg, when he took the stand, denied four as outright falsehoods. He said he never gave Ruth Greenglass any sum of money, and never received any written information from her or any sketches from David Greenglass. He denied giving Ruth a torn half of a jello box or introducing David to "a man" on First Avenue. This man, according to Greenglass' testimony, was "a Russian," whose name, dress and description Greenglass was unable to recall when pressed to do so by Rosenberg's attorney, Emanuel Bloch. Greenglass testified to riding the man in his car. "Being very busy with my driving," Greenglass said he "didn't pay too much attention" to what he ("the Russian") was saying; nor could Greenglass recall whether he mentioned details concerning this meeting with "a Russian" when he signed his first FBI confession implicating Rosenberg.

Rosenberg did not challenge the other "overt acts" listed in the indictment; he did, however, challenge and deny on oath the import of these acts as alleged by the uncorroborated testimony of witnesses whose accusations against the Rosenbergs saved their own hides.

CASUAL CLASSMATES: The meeting in Elitcher's home in Washington—the only testimony purporting to corroborate the Greenglass' portrayal of Rosenberg as a master spy who toured the country recruiting espionage prospects—defies credulity as it was described by Elitcher.

Elitcher said that in June, 1944, Julius Rosenberg telephoned him, identifying himself as a college classmate and wanting to see him. The Elitchers were just finishing dinner and Elitcher invited Rosenberg over. Elitcher testified that he had been friendly with and known socially only one or two of his classmates at the College of the City of New York; the other 200 were casual acquaintances whom he knew only from classrooms. It was in this category that he had known Rosenberg, whom he "didn't recall much about" and whom he hadn't seen or communicated with in the six years since their graduation.

HOW'S ABOUT SOME SPYING[illegible] Against this background, then, here [illegible] how "master-spy" Julius Rosenberg proceeded to "recruit" his former classmate into his espionage net; according to Elitcher's sworn testimony:

> "He came over after supper and my wife was there and we had a casual conversation. After that he asked if my wife would leave the room, that he wanted to speak to me in private. She did and then he said to me—he talked to me first about the job that the Soviet Union was doing in the war effort and how at present a good deal of military information was being denied them by some interests in the United States, and because of that, their effort was being impeded."

Then, according to Elitcher, Rosenberg asked him whether, in his job with the Navy's Ordnance Bureau, he had access to secret information and whether he would turn it over. (Elitcher said he neither accepted nor rejected the offer; but under cross-examination he admitted that he never turned over to Rosenberg any material, secret, classified, confidential or otherwise.)

THE DISHES WERE DIRTY: Rosenberg's account of this meeting is considerably different. He said that when he was in Washington in 1940, while has wife was working in the government's census bureau, he bumped into two former classmates, Morton Sobell and Max Elitcher, at a swimming pool. (Elitcher hadn't recalled this encounter.) Four years later, Rosenberg testified, he was sent to Washington on a Signal Corps assignment. After being in the city for three days, he became lonely and attempted to look up Sobe[illegible] and Elitcher. He said Sobell's name w[illegible] not listed in the Washington telephone directory, but Elitcher's was.

Rosenberg testified that, after he had been at the Elitchers' home for a short time, Mrs. Elitcher did leave the room. But, instead of being sent out by him so that he could make spy overtures to her husband (as Elitcher claimed), she left the two men alone for a mission as prosaic as washing the supper dishes. He saw Elitcher a year and a half later in Washington, and a third time in New York in 1946. He denied categorically any "spy" talk with Elitcher on any of these occasions; their encounters were no more than get-togethers of old classmates.

However, Rosenberg agreed readily that he had talked about the war effort, about the opening of the second front, about the Soviet Union's military and economic gains, and his freely-expressed view that the Russians had

> ". . . contributed a major share in destroying the Hitler beast who killed six million of my co-religionists, and I feel emotional about that thing."

OVERT FAMILY GATHERINGS: The three meetings with the Greenglasses that are listed among the "overt acts" as sinister implementations of the spy plot did indeed take place, Rosenberg testified. But, instead of the intriguing conversations that the Greenglasses ascribed to the meetings, Rosenberg said that one of them was at a family gathering when David first returned to New York on an army furlough; a[illegible]other occurred at his mother-in-law[illegible] when he saw and talked to Ruth Greenglass after her return from a five-day visit to her husband in Nov. 1944; and the third was at the Rosenbergs' apartment, where the Greenglasses had been invited to dinner (similar invitations had been extended to David and Ruth by all the relatives who attended the family dinner welcoming the army sergeant home for furlough):

At these meetings, Rosenberg testified that he discussed nothing more sinister than their children, work, the progress of the war, and politics in

(Continued [illegible] Page 5)

Anti-Comintern Axis is revived by U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

treaty organization is at least limited.

(In Greece, there were reports of new elections when Washington's favorite son, Marshal Papagos, failed to win a majority and refused to join a coalition. Most significant was the 192,000 vote for the United Demcoratic Left—11.5% of the total, a 2% increase since 1950. Elected by the Left were Tony Ambatielos, trade union leader under death sentence, and Gen. Staphas Serafis, 1944 commander of the Elas liberation army. Both are still in prison.)

At UN, the Military Subcommittee of the Collective Measures Committee was reported to have prepared a report permitting regional defense alliances like the Atlantic Pact to take command of UN action in future wars. It was learned that the U.S. is pressing for an arrangement by which it will command all future UN military action without even the nominal responsibility to the Security Council of the U.S. command in Korea.

TRADE PACTS BROKEN: Parallel with its war preparations, Washington tightened its economic war against the socialist world. The Big 3 barred Czech air flights over West Germany and flights of their own national airlines to Czechoslovakia. The State Dept. dispatched its Asst. Secy. Thorp to Geneva to a crucial meeting of the parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The sessions will deal with two issues involving the U.S.: Washington's announcement it will not be bound by the agreement as far as Czechoslovakia is concerned; the U.S. Congress-imposed quotas on butter and cheese which drastically reduced outlets for eighty signatory governments. Michael Hoffman reported to the **Times** from Geneva, Sept. 17:

> **Both actions have shaken the faith of other governments in the willingness or ability of the U.S. to abide by agreements if, by doing so, the slightest political inconvenience is likely to arise. The U.S. and Czechoslovakia are not the only signatories that have private commercial wars. But this does not alter the fact that most European governments have been alarmed by the unilateral action of the U.S. in severing relations with Czechoslovakia, in contradiction to its undertakings in the general agreement, and most European governments don't like it. The U.S. action will probably be approved by the contracting parties but it will be a reluctant approval and have its price.**

All-out in the Far East?

Resignation of Gen. Marshall as Secy. of Defense was interpreted in Britain as removal of possibly the last obstacle to all-out war against China. Under-Secy. Lovett, who replaces Marshall, has been, according to columnist Marquis Childs, the leader of the no-compromise-with-Russia policy.

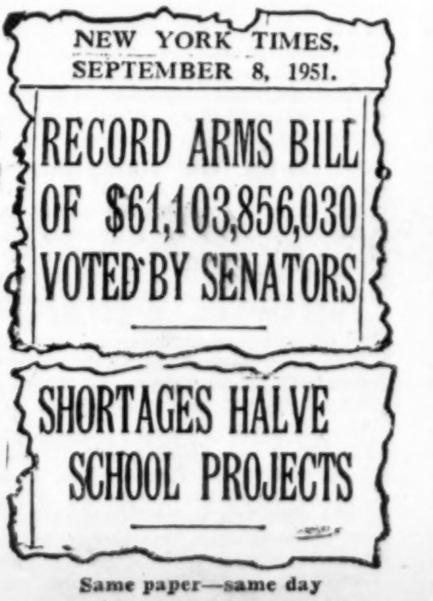
Whatever the significance of Marshall's departure, the Big 3 made the momentous decision to permit Gen. Ridgway to bomb Chinese bases if an emergency arises, without waiting for approval from London and Paris. This agreement, reported by the N.Y. **World Telegram** Sept. 14, "has been reached at a time when the truce talks are stalled and a resumption of heavier fighting is probable." Britain's acquiescence in the U.S.'s tough policy in Asia was bought, said the **New Statesman & Nation,** by American support for its policy in Iran and the Middle East.

THE KAESONG MYSTERY: With truce talks still stalled, Gen. Ridgway last week admitted one violation, charged by the Communists, of Kaesong's neutrality. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** David McConnell noted from Tokyo (Sept. 12) that the admission raised many questions: Why wasn't the presence of the allied plane which strafed Kaesong reported for top action? Why wasn't Adm. Joy told of the violation? Was the bomber pilot warned away, and if so, did he obey? McConnell tried to find the answers. He told what happened on Sept. 16:

> **The simple questions asked of Gen. Allen by this correspondent and George Herman, bureau chief of CBS, resulted at first today in a brief demand: "Don't forget which side you're on." . . . Gen. Allen after telephone checks said the Air Force had reasserted its warnings to pilots to stay away from Kaesong—a difficult task in fast-flying fighter-bomber planes. . . . [His] answers came after three days of questioning of first a major, then a lieutenant colonel, a colonel, and Brig. Gen. Wm. P. Nuckols, Far East Air Force Information Officer. . . . One army officer at first advised correspondents that their questions were "none of your business" but later recanted. During the three days of questioning Gen. Allen's answers were the first forthcoming to clarify the strafing incident. Even then, Gen. Allen challenged the correspondents with the assertion that as a reader he would not be interested. . . .**

While Ridgway sent a note suggesting resumption of negotiations, although denying responsibility for the violations charged, Gen. Van Fleet told the press:

> **"I want them to attack. It's our best opportunity to defeat them."**



NEW YORK TIMES,
SEPTEMBER 8, 1951.

RECORD ARMS BILL
OF $61,103,856,030
VOTED BY SENATORS

SHORTAGES HALVE
SCHOOL PROJECTS

Same paper—same day

IS THERE A
COAST GUARD
DOSSIER
ON YOU TOO?

It wasn't that they didn't like opera . . .

It was just that these pickets outside the San Francisco Opera House Sept. 4 didn't like the performance—"The Mikado," subtitled the "Japanese Peace Treaty Conference." The pickets are members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, screened off their ships by Uncle Sam's super-snoops. The signs they carried read: "Screen the mothballs from the mink coats" and "Screen the Missouri Mob."

RELIGION

Methodist group takes some stands

THE annual storm over Rev. Jack R. MacMichael, lanky Dixie-accented exec. secy. of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action, blew up and was blown down again at the MFSA conference held this year at Evanston, Ill. At last year's conference a resolution to unseat MacMichael—accused by dissidents of giving the 43-year-old unofficial Methodist group a distressing left-wing aroma by his policies—was voted down 58 to 2. This year six delegates voted for a similar resolution, 50 against.

The three-day conference ran its course peaceably in Evanston's First Methodist Church after the American Legion had vainly called on the church board to cancel permission for use of the building. Bishop Francis J. McConnell of Lucasville, Ohio, who was re-elected president, told the group flatly he had "no use for communism" which "renders no more than lip-service to the individual human soul." McMichael emphasized MFSA's belief in "the right of the people to listen [and] choose a better path . . . based on full, fair consideration." Dr. Donald O. Soper, a British Socialist, denounced "communism" and added: "I cannot imagine how any Christian can avoid socialism."

CHINA, DuBOIS, SMITH ACT: From Rev. Lucius C. Porter of Beloit, Wis., ex-professor at Yenching University and for 50 years a Congregationalist missionary in China, the conference heard warm words of praise for the government of New China, which he called democratic and representative of the people and which

> **". . . has done very rapidly and very abruptly what we missionaries have worked for all our lives."**

But although the Fedn.'s peace commission had voted 19 to 2 for a resolution urging UN to seat China, the whole conference rejected it after Rev. W. B. Waltmire of Madison, Wis., said it would be "sheer political idiocy" to approve it. Instead, a resolution was passed stating China should be admitted only "on the condition of a negotiated peace" in Korea. Other resolutions passed by the conference:

- **Associated MFSA with the defense of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, demanding "the right of people to work for peace according to the dictates of their consciences." (The plea of Georgia theology prof. Albert Barnett that this was "going out of your way to expound a justification for communism" was rejected.)**
- **Called for repeal of the Smith and McCarran acts.**
- **Proposed "a balanced cooperative economy as the alternative to communism and capitalism."**
- **Recalling the Sen. Johnson resolution on an armistice in Korea, urged "withdrawal of troops to the 38th Parallel during negotiation" and "eventual withdrawal of all foreign troops."**

"CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY": In a resolution on peace the conference followed a statement that "the Soviet Union and its allies share responsibility for the present international debacle" with this appeal:

> **Christian men and women especially have an inescapable responsibility to resist a mood of despair, blind hatred, hysteria and hopelessness. They should seek to develop mutual understanding in which differences with Russia can be reconciled. We reaffirm our conviction that war between the Soviet Union and the U.S. is not inevitable.**

How crazy can you get dept.

(A free year's sub. is given to the sender of each item published under this heading. This week's winner is Milton I. Sabin, Chicago, Ill.)

Dulles pointed out that America has deliberately chosen to distribute its armed strength around the world through pacts with other nations. . . . By contrast, Russia hoards all her own power within her own borders or within the satellites. With that kind of narrow control Russian power can be used to strike offensively at any time and place dictated by the Kremlin.

From MARQUIS CHILDS' column,
Chicago Daily News, Sept. 7, 1951

Rosenberg Case

(Continued from Page 4)

which Rosenberg voiced the opinion that the Soviet Union was still bearing the "heaviest load" of repelling the Germany Army, and that a second front should have been opened sooner.

NOT SO MASTERFUL: What gives the clearest hint that the Rosenbergs are victims of a political frame-up is that the 12 "overt acts" listed in the indictment all occur during the six-month period preceding Julius' dismissal from his Signal Corps job on charges that he was a Communist Party member—a period during which he surely must have been under investigation on these charges.

Rosenberg's open and constant espousal of the Soviet's role against Hitlerism during his employment by the U.S. Signal Corps was known to his superiors when he was dismissed as a "communist" in Feb., 1945. If indeed his discussions during this very period were not only about politics, but about espionage, this fact would certainly have recurred in the accusations bringing about his dismissal: also, if this had been the case, the government characterization of him as a "master spy" in this period would be a wild over-estimate of perhaps the most inept spy in all history.

A "SINISTER" TYPIST? Ethel Rosenberg, when she followed her husband on the stand, also denied categorically the Greenglasses' accusations purporting to link her to the espionage plot as Julius' assistant and moral supporter. The Greenglasses accused Ethel of typing up A-bomb notes which allegedly were given to Julius by David; writing letters to the Greenglasses when they were living in Albuquerque, N.M. (and allegedly giving them instructions for meeting a courier); and being present at several of the meetings which the Rosenbergs insisted were family or social gatherings. No letters, notes or any other corroboration of these accusations were presented.

Ethel Rosenberg testified that she did own a portable typewriter; that she earned her living as a typist before her marriage; that she corresponded with the Greenglasses for her mother, "who doesn't write English very well"; that she did some volunteer typing for the ladies' auxiliary of her husband's union, and, during the war, for the Office of Civilian Defense. Apart from these typing activities, she admitted to typing nothing more "incriminating" than her husband's denial of the government's allegations in severing his employment on the charge he was a Communist.

It is on such "evidence" that this typical young progressive couple, devoted parents of two small boys, are now lodged in the Sing Sing death house. Consideration of how the government twisted their happy family life and union and political activities into a nightmare of "spy" accusations leads to the conclusion that any progressives would have been equally "guilt " had they been hauled into a N.Y. federal courtroom in March, 1951, prosecuted by U.S. Atty. Irving Saypol, their trial presided over by Judge Irving Kaufman.

Next week: Jello boxes and Russian dressing.

"We hope," wrote the 11 U. S. trade unionists in the report of their recent 3-week visit to the U. S. S. R. of which the following is a digest, "that this message will be distributed as widely through America as the message we delivered to the Russian workers and people was distributed through the Soviet Union."

In a U. S. press complaining more and more stridently against "artificial barriers" erected by the Russians, the report has been totally blacked out. The text is available only to Americans who, like the GUARDIAN, receive the new English-language Moscow fortnightly News.

In the issue of News (Aug. 31) in which it appeared as a six-page supplement, the Moscow publication comments editorially:

> "Remove the barriers!" is the usual reply nowadays to all practical proposals for improving Soviet-American relations. We find this demand in the U. S. Congress resolution transmitted July 7. . . . The Soviet Union puts no obstacles in the way of communication between its people and men and women of good will from the Anglo-Saxon countries. We are able in every issue to give detailed reports of the stay in the S. U. of some or other delegation from the Anglo-Saxon countries. Workers, scientists, writers, journalists, teachers, students, churchmen have all visited our country. It is true that there are fewer Americans among them nowadays, but that is only because the U. S. government has considerably restricted the freedom of movement of its citizens. . . .

The delegates point out in their report that "several other elected representatives of workers who were scheduled to come on this delegation were not given passports, others had their passports revoked."

We spoke to thousands of workers . . .

What 11 American unionists found in the Soviet Union

WHEN we were received by trade union leaders at Moscow airport, our chairman enumerated several questions that influence the thinking of American people and expressed our determination to find answers:

> **Is the standard of living as low as pictured in the U. S.? Is there slave labor? Why are there no strikes? Is there a secret police dogging everyone's steps? Speed-up on the job? Freedom of religion? Free speech, press and radio? And does the Soviet Union want war?**

Here are the answers:

The workers are well fed, well clothed and well housed. We did not see any hungry or starving people. The rents they pay average from 3 to 6% of their total wages.

We spoke to thousands of workers and found this to be absolute truth. Workers receive from 14 to 30 days' vacation every year, paid for by government funds administered by trade unions. Workers are paid when sick. Women have 2½ months' paid leave for maternity care.

Nowhere did we see any speed-up as we know it on the assembly lines in America. We did see good equipment, modern machinery and safe healthful working conditions. The factories had plenty of air, ample windows, comfortable working space between machines and, generally speaking, are kept even cleaner than homes. Despite the desire of the whole people for increased productivity, we found the workers' health, age, and physical condition to be of prime consideration regardless and above all else.

"SLAVES" & JIM CAREY: We did not see a single worker who could be characterized as "slave laborer." Workers spontaneously stopped their machines when they heard our delegation was there, freely answered our questions and asked us questions about our life. Not a single worker by word, manner or glance indicated any fear for his safety, family or life. The question of 'slave labor" became as much of a joke to the American delegates as it is to the Soviet people. So much so that on several occasions when we saw workers relaxing or sleeping in the sun we shouted: "Wake up, slave laborer, you're not allowed to do that!"

In this connection our delegation agrees with the report of the CIO delegation to the S.U. in 1945 which included James Carey, Allen Haywood, Joseph Curran and Emil Rieve, and which said:

> **We were impressed with the character of the Soviet trade unions and with their many excellent activities in promoting the interests of workers in economic and social welfare and cultural fields, as well as with the most far-reaching character of the social insurance system they operate which is designed to protect the working people and their families against all contingencies from the cradle to the grave.**

What these trade-union leaders saw in 1945, our delegation saw on a much expanded scale in 1951.

GO AS YOU PLEASE: The delegation had complete freedom of movement. There were no secret police following us around. In every city, we left our hotels when we pleased and walked through the streets without guides or interpreters day or night.

We saw complete freedom of religion in every city, both churches and people attending them. In Moscow several of our delegates went to the Roman Catholic Church of Saint Louis on two separate Sundays. As is usual they found the same people there on the second time that they had seen previously. These people explained that they have been going to church in Moscow all their lives, and that nobody interfered with their right to attend. They said that while their children did not receive any religious training in school, they likewise did not receive any anti-religious training.

Jewish synagogues function freely all over the country in addition to Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and other churches.

STRONG UNIONS, WEAK PLUMBING: There is no unemployment. Everywhere we went we saw "help wanted" signs. The workers explained that they have no strikes because they are working for themselves and not for profits to be realized by any employers. Their production is turned back to them in the form of better and more abundant goods, making for a higher standard of living.

They have strong collective bargaining agreements through which their grievances are quickly and satisfactorily adjusted with the management. The unions are in a position to deal effectively with management up to and including the removal of directors who violate the rights of workers.

We do not want to give the impression that everything is wonderful in the S. U. There are some respects in which the S. U. would do well to emulate what exists in the U. S. Perhaps most important of all we found plumbing facilities inadequate. Generally speaking this is also true of the railroads. We realize the devastating destruction of the war, [but] our railroad facilities are more advanced and much better.

We were not given any prearranged program. We selected the workers we talked to at random, and spoke freely to people in the streets, subways, churches, parks and museums. We checked the stories of one another and against our notes, so that translators could not misinterpret what we were being told.

LOVE FROM THE KIDS: Any idea spread by the press that the Soviet people hate us, or that the Soviet Government hates us, is ridiculous. There is such love and support by the people for their leaders that if this were the case, then there would be no question but that any hatred of America by the Government would influence the people to likewise hate America. For the American people there is only the greatest respect and friendship.

In children's camps, in theatres where they were performing, in parks, streets and in all cities we were in, the children rushed over to send their love to the children of America. While it may be said that the people we saw in factories were all prepared to falsely represent their opinions and conditions to us, children cannot be taught

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Candles for Dr. Kingsbury

By Ralph Parker

GUARDIAN special correspondent

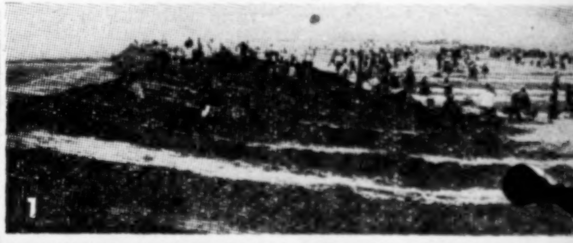
MOSCOW

SEVENTY-FIVE candles were necessary to decorate the birthday cake of Dr. John A. Kingsbury, veteran campaigner for American-Soviet friendship winding up a two-month visit to the U. S. S. R., at an American-style VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations) party in his honor attended by Vice Health Minister Velikanova, Prof. Morosov (editor of **News**) and leading Moscow physicians. Birthday-cake candles not being a Russian custom, a VOKS official made her first visit to church—where small candles are sold for lighting before ikons—to obtain some. "In all my years I've never seen a cake like this," said Dr. Kingsbury.

Toasts were drunk at the party to Premier Stalin and "his great friend" Franklin D. Roosevelt, and to "that great American, Joe Hill." Said Dr. Kingsbury in a press interview winding up his tour, which took him and Mrs. Kingsbury to Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, Tiflis, Sukhum, Kislovodsk and dozens of factories, farms and scientific institutions:

> **"The Soviet people are entirely engrossed in peaceful pursuits, and I have everywhere told them that the American people desire peace no less ardently—and that this holds true for many prominent persons in financial and business circles, including leading bankers and government officials. I have urged that our two countries should try to understand the democratic features of each other by the exchange of more detailed information on the operations of the democratic system in each land.**
>
> **"My stay is proof that any honest man can come to the Soviet Union, speak and meet freely with the people here. It has also made me more aware than hitherto of the deliberate distortion of the information about the U. S. S. R. in the U. S. press. Americans have only the most rudimentary knowledge of this country, but I am deeply convinced that the average American would get along well with the average Russian if they met more often and knew more about each other's lives."**

This is China today—a na



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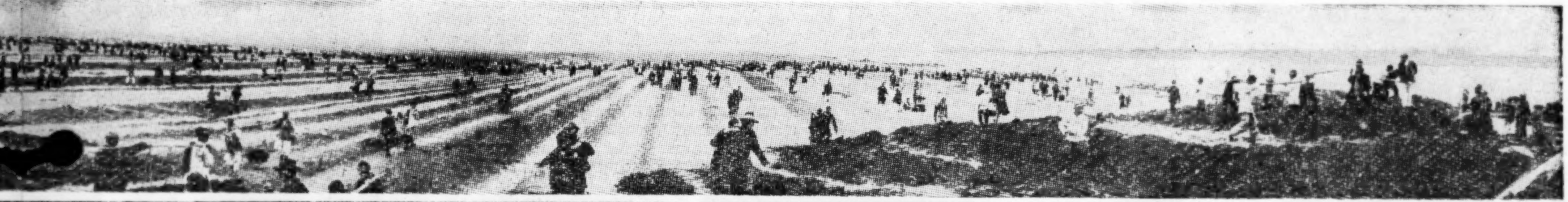
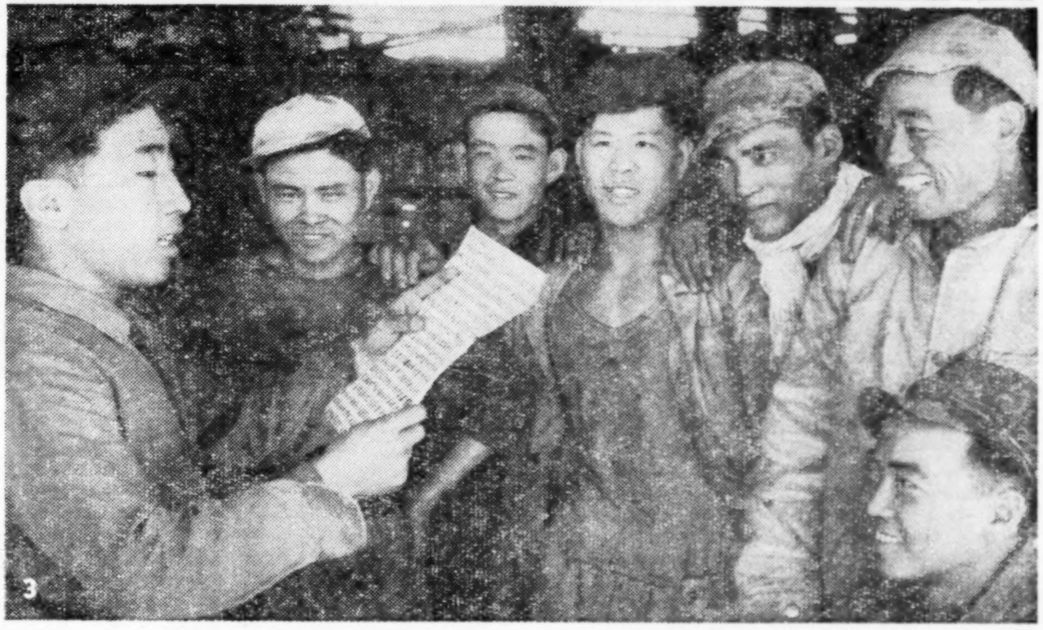
ation building a new life for all the people





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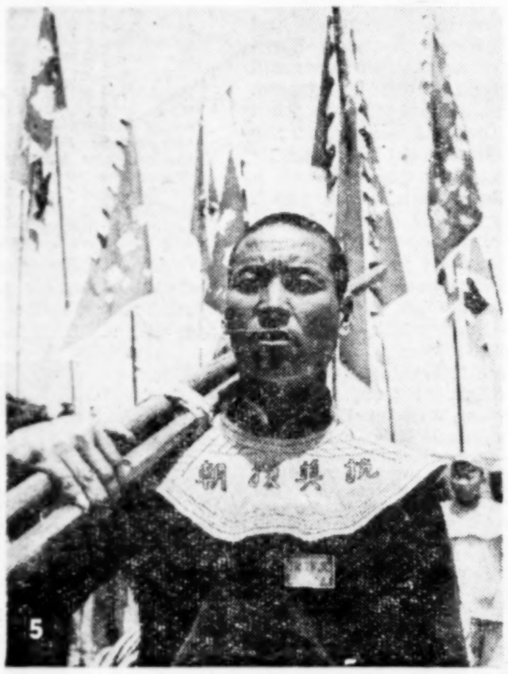

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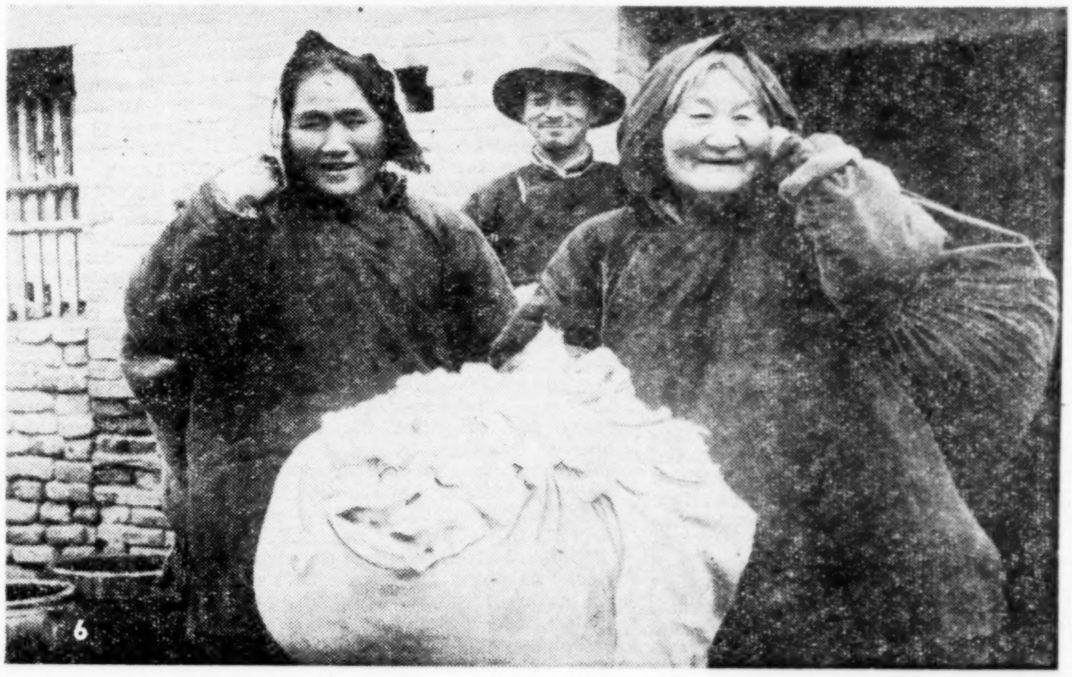

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to falsely represent love for hatred.

As to stories of preparations for war, we have seen only peaceful economy with no conversion for war production. Auto plants we saw continued to produce passenger cars. There was no reconversion in order to produce tanks, airplane engines. Tractor plants continued to produce tractors. One of the biggest steel plants in the country in Zaporozhye is not producing cannon, armor plate or ammunition but rolled steel for peacetime machinery and [illegible]t, including automobile. The [illegible]gest industry in the S. U. is still production of building materials and construction of housing for workers.

SEEING & HEARING: We spoke on the radio and not once were told what to say, even by suggestion. Not once were we asked what we were going to say. Never did we have to submit a prepared text in advance nor was anything we said censored. Our articles and interviews were printed in the Russian papers. This freedom of press and radio is such that while a tremendous number of newspapers and magazines are printed and read by practically everyone, and while almost all the people have and listen to radios, there is still a demand for more.

We bring this report to you as a public service in the best interests for the American nation, with our most fervent hopes for a greater America in a world of peace.

LEON STRAUS, vice-pres., Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union, delegation chairman.

HILLIARD ELLIS, organizer, Amalgamated Local 452, UAW-CIO, Chicago, co-chairman.

STANLEY BECZKIEWICZ, pres., Lake States Dist. Council 4, United Shoe Workers (CIO), Chicago.

WARREN HOOVER, pres., Local 751, United Electrical Workers, Niles, Ohio.

JOHN BLACKWELL, recording secy., Local 14, and pres. of Northwest Council of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, Wallace, Idaho.

LEE CANDEA, Hotel Workers (AFL), New York.

VINCENT MOSCATO, exec. board member, Macy Local 1-S, Dept. Store Workers (CIO) and store chairman, Jamaica store, N. Y.

MARIE BOWDEN, Local 371, Sheet-Metal Workers Union (AFL), Los Angeles.

HECTOR JACQUES, chairman, corrugated divn. Dist. 65, Distributing, Processing & Office Workers, New York.

HENRY R. BATKE JR., acting chairman of local radio committee, Local 931, United Electrical Workers, St. Joseph, Mich.

FRED SANIAT, exec. board member, Local 1014, United Electrical Workers, Chicago.

Controlling the rivers and freeing the minds

In the fields, in the factories, on the rivers, in the schools, in every channel of life, China is on the move—forward. (1.) 60,000,000 residents of the Huai river valley annually faced floods five times as disastrous as our recent Missouri flood. Ten million men worked on this control project, moving enough earth to build a dike a yard high and a yard wide eight times around the earth. They irrigated a million new acres in a year. (2.) These young Chinese Pioneers at a demonstration are protected by law from child labor, but voluntarily plant trees, help on farms in summer. Enrollment in elementary schools has tripled since liberation. (3.) Steelworkers in Tientsin reading a jointly-composed letter to President Mao. Wages in north-east China have gone up 15% in a year, supply of consumer goods 100%. (4.) In the schools, grown-ups who never had the chance to learn join the young. Note the concentration and pride in the faces of the women. (5.) Worker Hsu Fu-shan, elected labor hero and leader of his work section in the dam project (1.). For the first time in his life he is covered by social security. The white padded collar lessens the friction of the carrying pole against the shoulder. (6.) Peasants dividing the landlord's cotton. Before the land reform, the landlord took 50-80% of the crop, stored his wealth as huge cotton surpluses while China imported cotton from the U. S. Land reform is two-thirds complete, probably will be 100% by spring. In the fertile east, each member of a peasant family, including babies, receives 2 to 3 mou (one-third to one-half acre) of land; in the less-populated west, up to 10 mou.

●

FREEDOMS

Bay State thwarts overthrow by prof

THE Commonwealth of Massachusetts last week got into the act: on charges of seeking its overthrow by force a Middlesex County grand jury at Cambridge indicted under a state law Prof. Dirk Jan Struik, world-famed mathematician and for 25 years an educator at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Harry E. Winner, a rubber factory official, was named as a co-defendant. Prof. Struik was immediately relieved of all duties at M. I. T. pending outcome of the case.

Of 51 Smith Act victims now awaiting trial in Honolulu, New York, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Baltimore, one more succeeded in getting released on bail during the week. In Philadelphia Chief Justice William Kirkpatrick of the Federal District Court ordered U.S. Commissioner Carr to accept a $20,000 bond offered by the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress for Steve Nelson. (CRC bail is outlawed in New York). Arraignment of the Pittsburgh six is set for Oct. 5; trial of Nelson on a state sedition charge Oct. 1. Two others under Smith Act indictment have already been convicted under the sedition charge.

INDICTMENTS CHALLENGED: Attorneys for New York City's 17 victims filed six motions during the week attacking the indictments as unconstitutional. One charged that evidence had been obtained illegally through wire-tapping and interception of mail; another challenged the blue ribbon grand jury on grounds Negroes and manual laborers are deliberately excluded from it. Argument on the motions is set for Oct. 4.

Daniel Levitt, a laboratory assistant for an electroplating firm, was fired without explanation three weeks after he posted bail for one of the 17.

During the week the State Banking Dept., investigating the CRC bail fund, finished questioning the fund's four trustees who are serving jail sentences up to 90 days for contempt. They refused to surrender a list of contributors. Awaited was an Appeals Court ruling on their recent appeal from the convictions.

4,000 AT RALLY: A week ago 4,000 persons attended a trade union rally in defense of two of the 17: Louis Weinstock, for many years an official of the AFL Painters Union, and Al Lannon, who helped found the Natl. Maritime Union. Principal speaker was William Hood, secretary of the 60,000-member United Auto Workers Ford Local 600. He pledged its full support in the fight against the Smith Act. Other speakers included Paul Robeson, author Howard Fast, artist Frank Kleinholtz, attorney Harry Sacher, peace leader Halois Moorhead, several trade unionists. The GUARDIAN's John T. McManus was chairman.

Since the Smith Act arrest in Hawaii of Longshoremen's leader Jack Hall during the midst of contract negotiations, labor support in behalf of Smith Act victims has grown. During the closing hours of the state convention of the New York CIO, which had spent most of its time red-baiting, Frank Rosenblum, secy. treas. of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a national CIO vice-president, created a sensation when he denied that communism is a threat in the U.S., attacked instead "creeping fascism." He said:

JACK HALL
There were more on the list

> "Our civil rights are insidiously being impaired, restricted and curbed. A wave of legislation, beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act and the Smith Act, and embracing the McCarran Act and similar measures, has created in effect a parallel legal system superseding thhe Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and our traditional body of law. This is a dangerous movement toward fascism, representing a real threat to labor and liberal elements in the community."

ATTACK ON LABOR: In San Francisco a conference of the Joint Action Committee of Northern California Unions, representing a score of AFL, CIO and independent organizations with more than 30,000 members, denounced the Smith Act arrests and called for repeal of the law.

JAMES J. MATLES
The grand inquisition

But the Smith Act was only one prong of the general drive against progressive labor. In New York City a special grand jury investigating "subversive activities" summoned Julius Emspak. secy. treas., and James J. Matles, director of organization, of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (independent), later cited them for contempt for refusing to answer questions. Albert J Fitzgerald, UE president, charged the proceedings were deliberately timed to interfere with collective bargaining elections Sept. 14 in the Schenectady, N.Y. plants of General Electric, where the rival CIO electrical union challenged UE's representation of the workers. Emspak and Matles were ordered to return to the grand jury Monday. keeping them from their union's convention.

Big victory for UE

General Electric's main factory at Schenectady, N. Y., is the largest electrical manufacturing plant in the U.S. CIO's International Union of Electrical Workers has waged a bitter battle there against the United Electrical Workers, expelled two years ago by CIO. Last Friday GE workers in Schenectady made their choice between the rival unions in an NLRB election. UE won hands down by better than 2½ to 1. The results: UE—11,542; IUE—4,852. UE also whipped IUE at Tele-Tone by 611 to 98, beat the AFL's auto workers union by 359 to 183 at the Wayne Pump Co. The victories came just as UE's 16th convention opened in New York on Mon.

Also called before the jury were Donald Henderson, administrative director, and James H. Durkin, secy. treas., of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers, independent.

HARRY'S ORDERS: On Sept. 4 the N. Y. **Daily Mirror** reported that President Truman himself had ordered a crackdown on leaders of the 13 unions expelled from the CIO, using the Taft-Hartley law for possible prosecution. Several Chicago unionists have already been questioned; more are expected to be called in other parts of the country.

With many a federal judge upholding the right of witnesses under the Fifth Amendment to refuse to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination, Atty. Gen. McGrath last week was campaigning for a bill that would deny such protection before grand juries and Congressional hearings. The Senate Judiciary Committee has already approved such a bill applying to Congressional hearings.

Last week managing editor John Clare of **McLean's Magazine** of Canada reported that on a recent tour of the U. S. he had been held for five hours by police in Jackson, Miss., because a woman there thought he looked like Gus Hall, one of the convicted Communists being hunted by the FBI. Cops told him his "Canadian passport didn't mean a thing in Mississippi." (Clare in no way resembles Hall.)

In Vancouver, B. C., the Labor-Progressive Party picketed the U.S. Consulate, protesting Smith Act arrests.

POLITICS

Illinois PP meets; fights ballot bar

THE Progressive Party of Illinois will hold a membership convention Sept. 29 and 30 at Farm Equipment Workers Hall, 1110 S. Oakley Blvd. Main items will include: national policy on 1952 elections; electoral situation in Illinois and proposed changes in electoral methods; the campaigns for peace and for restoration of constitutional liberties; Negro rights. A state platform will be adopted and state officers elected.

It has just been discovered that a bill was passed in the last session of the legislature and signed into law virtually barring any minority party from a place on the ballot. The new law, which got no publicity at all, specifies that independent nominating petitions may be circulated only by persons living within the particular county being canvassed. Help has always been needed from Chicago and other industrial areas to overcome tremendous difficulties. The bill received virtually no opposition from either the Democratic or Republican parties. William H. Miller, PP state director, made this statement:

> This action is further evidence of the bipartisan conspiracy to prevent free elections in Illinois. It is obvious that the Democrats and Republicans know the people are getting fed up and they want to prevent any breakaway from the crooked machines. Nevertheless, the Progressive Party will devise new ways to express the people's aspirations for peace and a better life for themselves.

Punishment for violating this law is a fine up to $1,000 or jail up to 6 months, or both.

Laura O'Brien opens campaign for Boston City Council seat

A PRETTY young Dorchester mother and housewife is campaigning for election to Boston's new City Council with this slogan: "A housewife who faces your problems—and will work to solve these problems."

She is Laura Manchester O'Brien, 30, wife of Walter O'Brien, a leader of the Massachusetts Progressive Party; her campaign is something new in Boston's down-at-the-heel ward politics. A distribution of 50,000 leaflets appealing for strong rent controls and price rollbacks opened her drive last week. This will be followed by door-to-door canvassing in the city's 22 wards for thousands of signatures on the appeals.

Mrs. O'Brien is emphasizing the need for city-supported nurseries for children of working mothers, low-cost public housing, non-discrimination in housing projects, more elementary schools and guarantees against new transit fare increase.

Women outnumber men by 10,000 in the registration figures — and Mrs. O'Brien is not forgetting that for a moment. Campaign headquarters are at 7 Broad St. Volunteers are welcome.

LAURA O'BRIEN
Campaign with a difference

Gen. Holdridge becomes candidate for President in '52

BRIG. Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge (ret.) is officially a candidate for President in 1952. The announcement was made at a small convention in Chicago Aug. 31-Sept. 2 sponsored by the Associated Councils of Engineering (ACSE), an offshot of the Technocrat movement. The GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordower sent the following impressions of Holdridge:

> He was very direct in answering questions. He said that he would welcome Progressive Party support and that he was in substantial agreement with the PP Executive Committee's program announced at Minneapolis. He said he did not want communism in the U. S. but that the Soviet Union was entitled to have its own form of government. He summed it up: "Let's worry about the mote in our own eye instead of the beam in the other fellow's."
>
> The United Labor Party (a small socialist group active in Ohio and Michigan) sent several delegates. Holdridge, who seems committed to this group, said they campaigned for Henry Wallace "outsid the Progressive Party" in 1948. What ca out of the meeting was a loose Holdridg for President Committee. Holdridge said at the meeting that he would gladly step aside "if another candidate came along who was more acceptable."

Ordower concluded: "It's somewhat unusual to have a general and former West Point classmate of Gen. Ridgway speaking out for peace these days."

LABOR

Miners set 80-day limit to 'coolness'

THERE was no love for copper industry employers at Nogales, Ariz., last week. The 260 delegates to the 47th convention of the 68-year-old Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers cheered when their president John Clark said employers "feed at the trough of profit like a bunch of fat and sloppy hogs." One of the convention's first acts was a vow that the industry will be struck again at the expiration of the present 80-day "cooling off" period under a Taft-Hartley injunction unless there is an industry-wide settlement on the 19½c-an-hour agreement already reached with the Kennecott Co.

Clark reported "dollars-and-cents gains" in the U. S. and Canada in the past year "unequalled by any union in either country." He also called it the "banner year of complete and fina victory in the long struggle of o union to smash the raiders." In 25 key National Labor Relations Board elections, Mine-Mill beat the CIO Steelworkers in 12, AFL unions in ten, the CIO Auto Workers in two by a general average of 5 to 1.

WARS TO BE STOPPED: Clark put the union solidly against the Smith Act as "aimed primarily at labor," and proposed this program against war:

- Full restoration of peace in Korea;
- Immediate negotiations through the UN among the Big Five for settlement of all major differences;
- "An agreed and controlled disarmament and elimination of the weapons of mass destruction."

MIDWEST

HST woos farmers; Iowa, Minn., cold

ON July 27 the exec. committee of the Natl. Farmers Union, once the most militant of U.S. farm organizations, adopted a policy statement attributing all the world's tensions to "Russian imperialism," gave all but full approval to the government's war program. A month later FU pres. James Patton was rewarded with a friendly letter from President Truman, which all observers interpreted as the start of a new Truman wooing of the farm vote which was decisive in electing him.

The President emphasized his love for farm cooperatives, recalled the 1948 Democratic plank pledging the party to "encourage farm cooperatives and oppose any revision of federal law" governing them. But even as he wrote the letter, the Senate Finance Committee (seven Democrats, six Republicans) was voting tax legislation which would cripple or destroy them. M. W. Thatcher, gen. manager of the FU Grain Terminal Assn., called the proposals—which stemmed from Truman's Treasury Secy. Snyder—"a step toward fascism." Agricultural Secy. Charles F. Brannan spelled out their meaning:

> "If enacted into law, today's decision would reverse U.S. government policy of nearly 30 years' standing—a policy of encouraging business cooperation among farmers. The government would now begin to penalize farmers' cooperatives which are successful and have enjoyed normal growth. Establishment of new cooperatives would be, for all practical purposes, prevented."

Electric power cooperatives set up under the Rural Electrification Administration will be wiped out if the new tax proposals are applied to them; even right-wing politicians like Orville Freeman of Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer Labor Party charged that the proposal

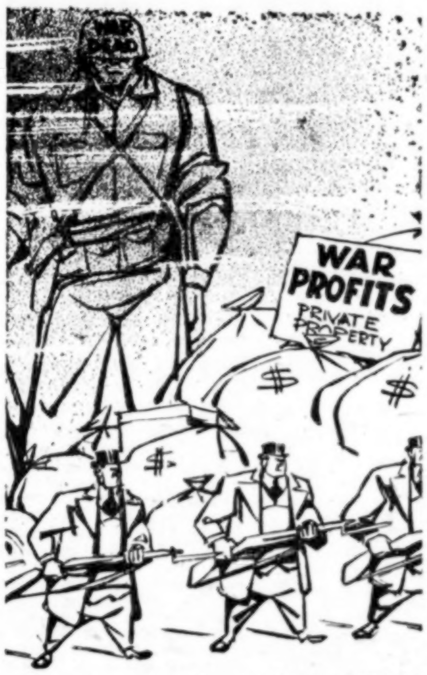
> ". . . has purposely singled out and attacked the finest example of free enterprise ever developed for the small consumer."

PARITY—WAR CASUALTY: Cooperatives are only one of the farm bastions threatened under the war program. With the bright promise of the Brannan Plan long since lost, the farmer now risks losing the whole concept of parity—the system of government price supports to regulate the ratio between what he gets for his products and what he must pay for his needs.

For six months he has been caught in a steadily tightening price squeeze: farm prices are falling, all others are rising. The parity ratio has gone down six points since January (from 110 to 104); the prices the farmer must pay for the goods he needs have risen 10 points. Truman himself has proposed a parity freeze which would intensify the price squeeze. Many an FU spokesman has criticized his proposal, but only Iowa pres. Fred Stover's paper put it this way:

> Truman's farm plan, which in effect would kill the parity concept, should once and for all expose those who complain about the injustices stemming from Big Business' war while at the same time they support that very war which produces those injustices.

NO WALL ST. SPAWN: The Iowa FU, which during the past year defeated a national office attempt to expel it for non-support of the war program, will lead off late this month the organization's state conventions. Pres. Stover, outstanding rural champion of peace in the U.S., is not expected to support the national board's policy statement, which will give heart to rank-and-filers in other states who face intimidation from pro-Administration leaders.



Drawing by Fred Wright

North Dakota, with its anti-imperialist traditions, and Minnesota are two states where foreign policy will be most sharply debated. In Minnesota the aggressive Whispering Pines local of the FU has already sent out to members sample resolutions. Major points:

> - That the "government . . . develop a fresh approach to foreign policy based on steps to disarmament on the part of all nations, on aid to starving people without political strings . . . and a new effort to utilize UN for settling disputes rather than inflaming situations as was done in Korea."
> - That FU leaders refuse to serve "on any national or local war mobilization boards or similar committees for promoting the present disastrous foreign policy, spawned and managed by U.S. Wall St. interests. . . ."
> - That an armament race be opposed "in favor of pump-priming for the people through . . . constructive projects that mean a better life. . . ."

"FREEDOM" GONE MAD: Meanwhile these oddities of U.S. agriculture under the Truman program were reported:

California lettuce growers had to be enjoined by a federal court from destroying half their crop.

Bulldozers pushed nearly 300 carloads of apples into a dump near Yakima, Wash.

Long Island farmers destroyed 11,000 pounds of string beans.

Destruction was cheaper than marketing.

THE ARTS

Scots seek to free, honor Robeson

PAUL ROBESON, recognized throughout the world as one of the great singers of all musical history, is a prisoner in his own land. As long as a single human being is discriminated against for his color, as long as a single official voice is raised advocating war in America or anywhere else, Robeson will not stop protesting. Result: he cannot sing in America while the "Red" hysteria lasts; he cannot accept offers from abroad (he now has them from concert agents in Britain, Israel, Scandinavia and a dozen more countries) because his passport has been revoked.

Last week Robeson confirmed to the GUARDIAN an interesting development: he has been nominated by a group of students—and accepted the nomination—for the Lord Rectorship of Aberdeen (Scotland) University, to run in an impending election against the tory candidate Lord Lovat.

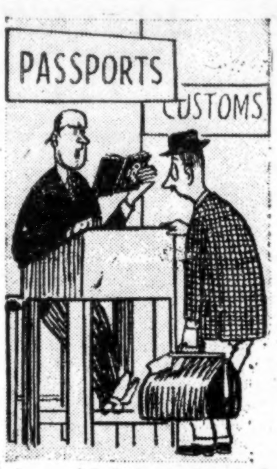
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS: In England, where he lived, sang, acted and grew the roots of his political consciousness from 1928 to 1940—and especially in Scotland and Wales, whose nationalist movements saw his fight for Negro rights as a parallel to their own struggle—Robeson is widely known and loved. The Scottish people's desire to confer public honor on him was first expressed in the late 'thirties when, after his return from a visit to the Attlee Battalion of the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, he was asked to run against Lord Allenby for the Edinburgh University rectorship. He expressed gratitude for the honor but declined it. In 1949 he made thousands more British working-class friends when he sang Scottish and Gaelic songs for the coal-miners and at meetings for the Trenton Six.

Robeson is now awaiting a reply from the State Dept. to his request for a new passport to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the Chinese revolution as a guest of the Chinese People's Republic. Gently suggesting that he might not represent America abroad any less adequately than the much-traveling John Foster Dulles, he told the GUARDIAN:

> "My roots are in many places—I feel deeply about my contact with other peoples to whom I feel very close. The proposal from the Scottish students, of whom I had never heard before as individuals, is happy testimony that such friendships as I have made in foreign lands deepen rather than fade with time."

Commented Tom Driberg, British MP, in London's **Reynolds News**:

> Should Robeson's campaign be successful . . . the Foreign Office could hardly refuse to ask the State Dept. to allow the Lord Rector of a Scottish University to visit Scotland—and the visit could be combined with the concert tour which the Scottish miners have invited Robeson to make.



Reynolds News, London

"Going to Gay Paree, are you? Got your wife's permission?"

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Directed by DANIEL MANN
Choreography by AGNES de MILLE
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McAVOY --- ALP'S CANDIDATE FOR COUNCIL PRESIDENT

New York gets another chance to vote the LaGuardia tradition back into office

By John T. McManus

AS WITH the Roosevelt New Deal nationally, the last six years in New York City have seen the almost complete obliteration of the political reform program undertaken in the three terms of Fusion Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia (1933-45). Under pressure from the American Labor Party, which helped elect him when La Guardia retired in 1945, William O'Dwyer kept La Guardia's program alive for a year, then handed the affairs of the city back to the notorious Tammany machine.

In 1949 Vito Marcantonio headed the ALP's first independent city campaign, against O'Dwyer and Republican-Liberal Newbold Morris, as a means of keeping La Guardia's program before the voters. (La Guardia was an enrolled ALP member in his last term as mayor.) Marcantonio got over 350,000 votes for Mayor; and the next year, when O'Dwyer quit (as Marcantonio predicted he would), ALP's Paul Ross entered the La Guardia program again in the mayoralty race which resulted in the election of O'Dwyer's President of the City Council, Vincent Impellitteri.

CITY COUNCIL HEAD: This fall, as a result of Impellitteri's election last year, ALP again has the opportunity to put the La Guardia program before N. Y. C. voters in a four-cornered race for the City Council presidency vacated by Impellitteri.

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY
The La Guardia heritage

Tammany's candidate is Acting City Council President Joseph Sharkey, whose appeal to the voters is as an over-the-river (Brooklyn) Al Smith but who has shown little of Al Smith's aptitude for making the Tammany machine function for the city's people.

The ousting of Tammany might have been started again in this fall's campaign with a revival of the Fusion coalition of La Guardia's years. But Fusion never had a chance, since ALP alone of the groups making up the La Guardia coalition still adheres to La Guardia's peace program; the Liberals (once a part of the ALP of La Guardia's day) and the Republicans have both signed up for the duration in the bipartisan war program.

NO COALITION NOW: Thus it was possible for Liberals, Republicans and Democrats to coalesce in 1950, with no differences on the war program, to defeat the nation's only peace congressman, Vito Marcantonio. But this year on the local scene, Tammany was able to maneuver the Liberals and Republicans into nominating separate candidates for the City Council presidency. This would seem to assure Sharkey's election even against the possibility of an upset such as Impellitteri's independent Democratic candidacy caused in 1950.

The Republicans settled for a reactionary Queens Congressman, Henry J. Latham, rejecting the Liberals' choice, Rudolph Halley, Kefauver Committee counsel. Halley sprang from obscurity early this year via the now-famous television airings of the committee's questioning of gambler Frank Costello and others involved in New York City's political chicanery.

McAVOY FOR ALP: ALP's candidate is Clifford T. McAvoy, deputy Commissioner of Welfare under La Guardia and long-time CIO legislative and political action expert.

An ALP member since the party was founded in the middle Thirties, McAvoy is the son of the late Appellate Judge John V. McAvoy, an Al Smith Democrat who refused nomination for Mayor in 1925 to continue his judicial career. Clifford McAvoy's grandfather was Tammany Sachem Thomas F. McAvoy.

ALP's AcAvoy is a product of New York City public schools and Columbia University; studied violin and composition here and in Europe; taught Romance languages at Riverdale Country School, Columbia and the College of the City of New York before entering politics via appointment to La Guardia's Welfare Dept.

After four years in the La Guardia Administration he became legislative and political action director of the Greater New York CIO Council, then joined the staff of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, where his present assignment is directing the union's defense of UE victims against contempt citations for refusing to aid congressional union-busting.

REGISTRATION: Running for City Council President as a peace candidate, on the basis that no advocate of a war economy can honestly promise the people of the city civil rights, good government or gains in living standards, McAvoy has already addressed the voters on a television broadcast and is now spearheading a citywide campaign for registration and ALP enrollment (Sept. 24-25, Oct. 3-4-5, 5-10:30 p.m.; Oct. 6, 7 a.m.-10:30 p.m.)

In his opening campaign speech he said:

> "I am an old-fashioned American. I believe in keeping fully alive the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These great documents constitute, together with the Declaration of Independence, the American way of life.
>
> "For more than 160 years these great principles of democratic government have distinguished our country from all others. I happen to think that they constitute the best system of government on earth; but I have no fear at all of the advocacy of other forms and philosophies of government. Only through the free exchange and competition of ideas will our government be strengthened in its fundamental task of meeting the needs of the American people. Those who would suppress advocacy of other ideas of government suurely show little faith in the superiority of our form of government. The blunt truth of the matter is that they fear democracy itself.
>
> "The most patriotic single action today is to fight for the preservation of the Bill of Rights against the enemies of American democracy who would destroy it. Everything—peace, living standards, good government, labor's rights, Negro rights—depends upon the preservation of the Bill of Rights. Let us then imbue every Electtion District Captain of the ALP with a sense of the patriotic importance of bringing the message IN PERSON to every resident of his District."

On Oct. 3 Mr. and Mrs. McAvoy will be guests of honor at an ALP Broadway preview of Shaw's **Saint Joan** at the Cort Theater. Tickets may be obtained at 1483 First Av. or by telephoning REgent 7-1090 or RHinelander 4-6450. Price scale for the benefit preview is from $3.50 (balcony) to $12.50 (front orchestra).

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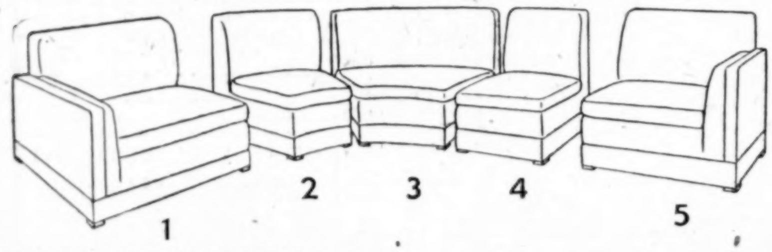
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A best-buy in sectionals: more of Cook's 'in the muslin' furniture



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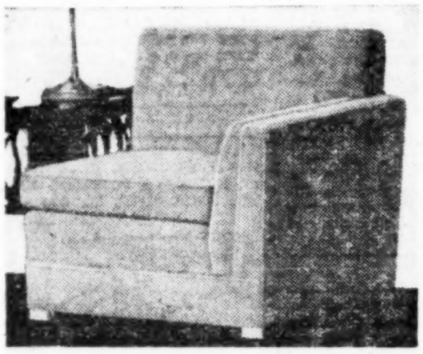

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THE DREAMLINER (left): Deluxe 2-in-1 Thayer carriage and stroller. Body and 5-bow, piped hood flexible coated fabric; body size 35½x18½x14 in. deep. All-steel, aluminum-finished chassis; "Trigger-Touch" lock; 3-position pusher; adjustable foot brake, non-tip safety stand. Wheels 12" 16-spoke, 4" chromium-plated hub caps; white tires. Colors: Army Blue, Navy Blue, Duchess Grey. Reg. retail price $68 up.
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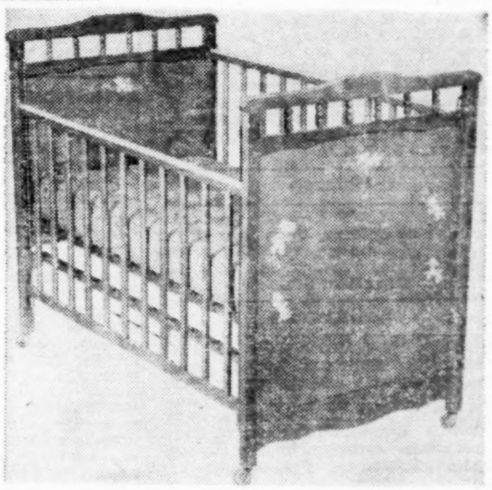

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Louis Adamic — American

By James Aronson

Standing on the rostrum and looking on the incredible demonstration that boiled up Saturday afternoon, immediately after Henry Wallace was nominated for President, I noticed a Slavic-American friend of mine from Pittsburgh. His eyes were wells of tears that added to the ecstatic expression on his strong face. Later I talked with him and he said:

"You know, I have been a citizen of the United States for 28 years, but this is the first time that I really feel that I am an American, that I belong, that this is my country, and that I can exercise my responsibility toward it."

—Louis Adamic in the Preview Issue of the GUARDIAN, Aug. 1, 1948.

THAT was Philadelphia in July, 1948. I remember it well. I climbed up on that same rostrum to ask Louis Adamic if he would write his impression of the Progressive Party's founding convention for the new paper that was about to be born in a time of new hope. I remember his serious, sensitive face as he thought it over for a moment and then said yes, he would.

Three years later on Sept. 4, 1951, Louis Adamic was found dead in his farmhouse in Milford, N.J., a bullet wound two inches above his right ear, a .22 caliber rifle across his lap. County officials listed his death as a "supposed suicide." Investigation confirmed the first findings. But they did not stop the suppositions on the reasons for his death.

LOUIS ADAMIC
Was it a warning?

"THE WORLD MY LAND": Louis Adamic was born, one of ten children, in a peasant home, in Carniola, Yugoslavia, in 1899. He came to America when he was 14, alone, and before long was writing sketches of New York for a Slovenian newspaper. He never stopped writing. His first published book, in 1931, was **Dynamite!—the Story of Class Violence in America.** He was a brilliant observer but more than that: he appeared in many of his books—not out of egotism but because he was also a participant. That was the way he lived and wrote—seriously, sensitively, sometimes almost overwhelmed by the tensions felt by people who suffer for others.

On the title page of **My Native Land** (1943) he quoted Seneca the Stoic: "I am not born for one corner; the whole world is my native land." It was for Louis Adamic too; but Yugoslavia remained for him a special corner. He followed the magnificent struggle of the Yugoslav Partisans during the war and wrote movingly of it. He revisited Yugoslavia in 1946 and again in 1949, after the break between Tito and the Cominform. He had to see for himself.

He came back convinced that Tito was right, and said so. He began work on a book, to be titled **The Eagle and the Rock,** which is said to be about the Partisan fight and post-war Yugoslavia. Reports said the people who came off worst in it were the Yugoslav reactionaries who fought Tito.

CHANGE & DECAY: At the scene of his death, pages of a manuscript were found scattered about the room (he had set fire to the house but the flames did not reach his room). One supposition was that he had ended his life in a fit of disillusionment with Tito because of Yugoslavia's swing all the way into the Western camp. (The week before, Tito had conferred with Washington's W. Averell Harriman in Belgrade and all but concluded a military alliance. Four days after Adamic's death the London **New Statesman & Nation,** the Western world's most influential voice of non-Communist socialism, described Yugoslavia's "new economic programme" as "specifically intended to give a new lease of life to private enterprise.")

Perhaps the supposition is right—but there is another side to the story. Adamic was not only a Yugoslav patriot; he was above all an American patriot. He fought the good fight for the foreign-born, lent his pen and his name to organizations which make the Justice Dept.'s "subversive" list read today like a roll of honor. For his efforts he was vilified by the latter-day heroes of our America—the scurfy stool-pigeons who come blinking out of their holes into the Congressional kleig lights and then crawl back with the dollar bills clinging to their greasy souls.

ENTER THE GHOULS: Louis Budenz said he thought it "not unlikely" that Adamic had been killed by "skilful" Soviet agents. Even more sure was Elizabeth Bentley. A flip of a word or a flop of a bit of testimony is so easy when you get paid for it: in Adamic's wallet at his death was found a newspaper clipping with this headline: "Adamic Red Spy, Woman Charges." The woman was Bentley.

"Those of us who knew Louis," said his brother-in-law Dr. Harold Sanders, "realize that he was tense, under a strain, and that the world situation affected his mental attitude. Those combined to make him do what he did."

One adds to the supposition: Perhaps Louis Adamic could not bear what was happening in his native land; perhaps he could bear even less what was happening in his adopted land.

It is a trying time for sensitive souls. It is not easy to look on the twisted face of a Budenz or a Bentley on the front pages almost daily, to read the diseased outpourings of a dozen like them—presented with solemn alarm by the free press of America.

"NOW IS THE TIME": It is not easy to watch the growing brutalization of a people who once cherished tolerance; the corruption and shoddy moral standards of a nation that once bore aloft the banner of dignity and decency; the prostitution of a culture, born of a flowering dream, that once sang a song of hope to an old and tired world.

Yet it is a time for sensitive souls; for those who suffer deeply can also look ahead to a future which they and their children can enjoy the more deeply. It is a time for understanding and for heart—and for solidarity. To be alone is to despair. Was that the tragedy of Louis Adamic?

In his typewriter near his fireplace was a sheet of paper with the beginning of the traditional test line: "Now is the time. . . ."

Perhaps it was a warning and a rallying call to those of us who remain. The kind of integrity that Louis Adamic had will not die; the ones who stand together will continue the partisan struggle.

CALENDAR

New York

FOR THE RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE come to Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd St., Fri. evening, Sept. 28, 8 p.m. Honor Dr. W. E. B. DuBois making his last public address before facing trial as a peace advocate. Also hear other distinguished speakers. Admission $1.20 tax incl. Auspices: Natl. Council ASP, 49 W. 44th St., MU 7-2161.

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General

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Books

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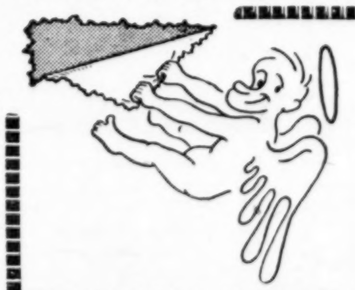

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